DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 189 608 CS 205 688

TITLE Rhetoric and Public Address: Abstracts of Doctoral Dissertations Published in "Dissertation Abstracts International," January through June 1980 (Vol. 40 Nos. 7 through 12).

INSTITUTION ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills, Urbana, Ill.

PUB DATE 80

NOTE 13p.: Pages may be marginally legible.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Annotated Bibliographies: Churches: *Communication Research: Connected Discourse: Content Analysis: *Discourse Analysis: *Doctoral Dissertations: Organizational Communication: *Persuasive Discourse: Political Science: Politics: *Public Speaking: Religious Organizations: *Rhetoric: *Rhetorical Criticism: Speech Communication: Unions: Womens Studies

ABSTRACT

This collection of abstracts is part of a continuing series providing information on recent doctoral dissertations. The 20 titles deal with a variety of topics, including the following: (1) the campaign communication during the Carter-Ford television debates: (2) apprehensiveness and performance in public speaking: (3) a history and criticism of the Vietnam antiwar movement: (4) a case study of institutional rhetoric and radical change (the contemporary Roman Catholic Church in America): (5) synthesizing methodologies used in the study of political communication during the 1976 United States presidential election campaign: (6) the audience effects of apologetic discourse: (7) rhetorical vision and black social reality: (8) a case study of organizational apologia (the American Federation of Labor, 1945-1956): and rhetorical analyses of the speeches/discourses of (9) Dorothy Day for the Catholic Worker movement, (10) British Conservative Party leader Margaret Thatcher, (11) Charles Betts Galloway, (12) Carl Schurz, (13) Cleveland mayoral Candidate Arnold Pinkney, (14) Richard Nixon on Vietnam, (15) United States Senator Wayne Morse on Vietnam, (16) Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas on the First Amendment, (17) U. S. presidential candidate George McGovern, (18) Hu Shih on the Chinese Literary revolution (1915-1920), (19) selected women speakers during 1850-1860, and (20) the American conservation movement, 1865-1913. (RL)

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ED189608

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Compiled by the Staff of the

ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills

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Brydon, Steven Robert

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THE CHARACTER AND COMMUNICATION OF A MODERN-DAY PROPHET: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF DOROTHY DAY AND THE CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

Order No. 8005750

ANDERSON, RUTH DIANA, PH.D. *University of Oregon*, 1979. 225pp. Adviser: Dr. Dominic A. LaRusso

This study described, analyzed, and evaluated selected speeches of Dorothy Day, leader of the Catholic Worker movement. A review of the literature in the characteristics of movements and rhetoric of leaders of movements indicated that a leader of a radical-reformational movement must vocalize the radical dissatisfaction with the political establishment and at the same time propose reforms within the religious establishment. The literature indicated that the leader of a radical-reformational movement directed towards both a political and religious establishment would be:- (1) personally familiar with both the political-social and the religious mystical needs of humanity; (2) able to communicate a meaningful message to both the religious and political establishments; and (3) able to attract and maintain followers. Seven hypotheses emerged from the literature and were later evaluated after a description of the life and philosophy of Dorothy Day; the philosophy, programs, and issues of the Catholic Worker movement; and the extrinsic and intrinsic analysis of the discourse of Dorothy Day was delineated. The first hypothesis was: Dorothy Day's rhetoric should demonstrate a sensitivity to two audiences resulting in dual purposes. Simultaneously, her rhetoric should radically confront the political system and moderately reform the religious system. This hypothesis was confirmed in that Dorothy Day radically objected to the impersonal, greedy, violent ethic stimulated by the American capitalist system and also promoted policies, programs, and values of a new order, based on reforms in the religious establishment. Hypothesis Two suggested that Dorothy Day's rhetoric should function to attract and intensify the commitment of the workers within the movement. Because Dorothy Day's speeches to the general public did not address the members within the movement, no conclusion can be drawn about the intensification of commitment by the workers. However, her rhetoric did attract numerous new members. Hypothesis Three was: Dorothy Day's rhetoric should encompass the prophetic-oracle structure of proclamation, condemnation, and prediction. This hypothesis was partially confirmed in that she did follow the proclamation and condemnation aspect of the oracle but did not utilize the prediction component. Hypothesis Four was: Dorothy Day's rhetoric should use appeals to the emotions through vivid stories and extended examples. The hypothesis was confirmed. Hypothesis Five predicted that Dorothy Day's rhetoric would include revolutionary, confrontational strategies when addressing the political establishment and more moderate, reformational strategies when addressing the religious establishment. This hypothesis was confirmed. Hypothesis Six was: Dorothy Day's rhetoric should demonstrate an intense identification with the needs of the destitute of humanity and the purposes of God. This hypothesis was confirmed in that Dorothy Day's life and communication reflected an awareness of the needs of people and the design of God. Hypothesis Seven was: Dorothy Day's rhetoric should portray a "higher wisdom, a more profound sense of just justice to stand above inconsistencies by articulating overarching principles." Dorothy Day did not waver in her message of the ultimate good of love and peace. She met the various issues of the day by adhering to the simple but radical principles espoused in Matthew 25: to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to offer hospitality to the sick and imprisoned. Hypothesis Seven was confirmed.

Clearly, Dorothy Day's rhetoric remained a pervasive, prophetic influence to both the political and religious establishments between the years 1963 and 1976. In the tradition of the prophets, she called for a simple, specific action to be taken in order to alleviate the injustices existing in the current political, social, and religious establishments. Dorothy Day used appropriate rhetorical strategies to enhance her goals.

THE CARTER-FORD TELEVISION DEBATES: A STUDY IN CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION

BRYDON, Steven Robert, Ph.D. University of Southern California, 1979. Chairman: Professor Walter R. Fisher

This study combined a transactional model of political communication with dramatism to describe, to analyze, and to evaluate the 1976 presidential debates. Audience needs for and viewer uses of the information provided by the encounters formed the basis for critical evaluation. Debate functions were determined by an examination of relevant empirical research. The description, analysis, and evaluation of the candidate's debate performances were based on videotapes and transcripts.

The debates performed several functions. The debate format forced the candidates to address policy issues, although the issues raised did not reflect major public concerns. The debates functioned as a catalyst for viewers, bonding policy issue positions, party preferences, and candidate personalities into overall images of the candidates. Most voters were reinforced rather than converted by the debates, and it is unlikely that the election's outcome was altered by the encounters. Audience perceptions were influenced mainly by media-created expectations and post-debate interpretations.

The debates attracted and retained large audiences, although viewers did not find them entertaining. The debates stimulated campaign interest and interpersonal discussion, but had little effect on voter turnout. The encounters contributed marginally to the legitimation of the electoral process through the use of historical sites and the use of debate. The agreement by the candidates to debate did, however, signal a significant belief in the validity of the democratic system.

Panelists asked about issues, forced clarification, and provided refutation of candidate claims. Panelists failed to reflect major public concerns and demonstrated bias in the final debate.

Jimmy Carter identified himself with the people and the people with the presidency. He reaffirmed a faith in the people's ability to govern and offered himself as a vehicle to do their will. Carter promised to unify a divided people. His strategy was to demonstrate that he was knowledgeable and specific about issues, competent, and willing to apologize for past mistakes. Carter subverted Gerald Ford's image by identifying him with Richard Nixon and the Republican party, and disassociating him from the people. Carter accused Ford of distortion in a number of his statements.

Ford identified himself with the institution of the presidency, which he claimed had been returned to a position of integrity and trust under his administration. A major obstacle for Ford was the way he came into office and his pardon of Nixon. Ford argued that he had earned a full term as President by doing a good job, unifying the people, and reaffirming basic American values. Ford's attempt to demonstrate his competence was undermined by his misstatement about Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, which was widely publicized in the media. Ford's attempts to subvert Carter's image were largely unsuccessful. His identification of Carter with the Democratic majority in Congress was inappropriate for a minority party candidate who needed Democratic support.

The debates were successful in presenting voters with information about the candidates, their issue positions, and their images of the presidency. Unlike the 1960 presidential debates, neither candidate suffered from an inferior television image. Although the 1976 debates contributed to the legitimation of the democratic process, the attempts by both men to subvert their opponent mitigated the legitimation of the presidency and the men who sought it.

The results of this study were compared to findings from studies of the 1960 presidential debates. Recommendations were proposed for future presidential debates. Implications for theory and research were discussed.

MARGARET THATCHER, BRITAIN'S SPOKESMAN FOR A NEW CONSERVATISM: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE SPEECHES (1975-1978) (VOLUMES I AND II)

Order No. 7927513

BUNETTA, TERESA HICKS, PH.D. *The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col.*, 1979. 257pp. Supervisor: Professor Owen Peterson

In February, 1975, Great Britain's Conservative and Unionist Party elected the Right Honorable Margaret Thatcher, M. P. to the position of Leader of the Party. The Conservative Party was at that time a minority party; thus Mrs. Thatcher became the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. Mrs. Thatcher became the first woman in Britain ever to head a major political party. She emerged after an intense ideological struggle within the Conservative Party. In the battle for the party leadership she defeated Edward Heath, then leader of the Party and former Prime Minister. From the time of her election in February, 1975, until the defeat of the Government in April, 1979, Mrs. Thatcher continued to rally strength and unity as the leader of the party. She led a shift in the ideological focus of the Conservative Party from the left to the right; instead of a party in sympathy

with the social democrats and what some regarded as "a palatable brand of British Socialism", the Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher became proponents of free enterprise and de-nationalization.

On Wednesday, March 28, 1979, Prime Minister James Callaghan's minority Government fell. The vote was 311-310 on a censure motion brought by the Opposition that amounted to a vote of confidence. After his defeat Callaghan went to Buckingham Palace to propose that Queen Elizabeth dissolve Parliament as soon as the essential business was finished and set the election of a new House of Commons for May 3.

Although several biographies of Margaret Thatcher are in print, none analyzes the rhetorical skill which she had demonstrated throughout her career. The period of this study is of particular interest to the critic; during the four year period (1975-1978) Mrs. Thatcher rose in prominence within her own party and gained a wider acceptance by the public as a prospective Prime Minister. As leader of the Conservative Party, Mrs. Thatcher became the voice and standard bearer for a new conservatism. To a great extent she was the one responsible for convincing the public that the Conservatives were able to govern more effectively than Labor, and most importantly, that they would do so as a result of her leadership.

This study focuses on the party conference speeches delivered by Mrs. Thatcher annually from 1975-1978. On these occasions Margaret Thatcher spoke to both the members of the Conservative Party in the immediate audience and to the general public through the medium of television; thus on these occasions, she spoke to considerably larger audiences than she did on any other occasions during the period. Those party conferences provided the leader of the Conservative Party with an opportunity to outline an alternative course for the nation and her party. The written transcripts of the speeches reveal Margaret Thatcher's dominant theme to be the necessity in leading Britain out of socialism and re-establishing a free market economy.

These speeches offer the rhetorical critic an opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of a speaker whose goal for each speech was to depict the plight of Great Britain for a widely diversified audience. The intellectual and emotional make-up of the audiences presented the speaker with challenges unlike any she encountered on other speech occasions.

Margaret Thatcher's party conference speeches from 1975-1978 are likely to have contributed to her credibility as a future head of state. This study examines her goals as a speaker, the way in which she sought to achieve them and the general effectiveness of her party conference speeches from 1975-1978.

APPREHENSIVENESS AND PERFORMANCE IN PUBLIC SPEAKING

Order No. 8003432

FRYE, PAUL ARTHUR, PH.D. *University of Denver*, 1979. 162pp.

This empirical study was concerned with describing the relationship between communication apprehension (CA) and performative quality in public speaking. Previous researchers (e.g., Friemuth, 1976; McCroskey, 1976) suggested that as an individual's level of fear or anxiety increased, his or her public communication effectiveness decreased. Research on "Panic-Fear" in asthma, however, suggested that for individuals with relatively strong ego controls a high level of fear or anxiety may be beneficial.

A theoretical model of CA in public speaking was derived from the literature on communication apprehension, reticence, speech anxiety, stage fright, the characteristics of good and poor speakers, the Panic-Fear research, and speech communication theory. The model suggested that the level of intensity of CA in conjunction with the individual's typical coping response style in stressful situations determined public speaking performative outcomes.

The research hypothesis predicted that individuals with high CA but adaptive or moderate Panic-Fear coping response styles would outperform others on classroom speeches. McCroskey's (1978) PRCA was used as a measure of CA and the MMPI Panic-Fear scale (Dirks, Jones & Kinsman, 1977) was used to indicate differential coping response styles. College students enrolled in speech communication courses at the University of Denver participated in the study, and classroom instructors provided performance evaluation scores on student speeches.

Analysis of the data indicated no relationship between PRCA or Panic-Fear and evaluation scores on any given speech. However, supplementary analysis indicated that individuals with high PRCA and moderate Panic-Fear scores improved more across three speeches than people who had moderate PRCA and moderate Panic-Fear scores. While only approaching statistical significance (between .05 and .10), these results suggested that people with adaptive coping response styles may utilize high levels of communication apprehension productively.

Additional hypothesis testing indicated that women had higher PRCA scores than did men ($F = 7.79$, $p = .006$). However, no difference was found between sexes on speech evaluation scores. Males tended to score lower than females on both the PRCA and the MMPI Panic-Fear scale ($F = 11.83$, $p = .001$). This suggested that while women report experiencing more CA, men may tend to utilize counter-phobic denial strategies to cope with feelings of fear or anxiety.

PRCA scores correlated negatively ($r = -.54$) with public speaking experience, but no significant relationship was found between PRCA scores and chronological age. Speech evaluation scores were not significantly related either to public speaking experience or to PRCA scores. However, student scores on a midterm examination correlated positively with public speaking evaluation scores ($r = .21$ on Speech 1; $r = .54$ on Speech 2; $r = .45$ on Speech 3). These findings suggested that public speaking performance was enhanced through exposure to theoretical concepts related to public speaking. While the results indicated that CA decreased as public speaking experience increased, the lack of relationship between either PRCA scores or public speaking experience scores and performance evaluations suggested that increased confidence does not necessarily mean improved public speaking performance.

Implications of the theoretical model and empirical findings for the teachings of public speaking, CA intervention strategies, and communication apprehension theory were discussed.

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF SELECTED CEREMONIAL SPEECHES OF CHARLES BETTS GALLOWAY, 1893-1908

Order No. 8013118

HANDFORD, CHARLENE JEANETTE, PH.D. *The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col.*, 1979. 276pp. Supervisor: Dr. Harold Mixon

This dissertation analyzes six ceremonial addresses delivered by Charles Betts Galloway between 1893 and 1908. Of the six discourses the occasions included the dedication of Millsaps College, the dedication of a new state capitol, the Seventh Annual Conference for Education in the South, a commencement day address, and two lecture series. Dedicated to a variety of causes, Galloway utilized these ceremonial events to express his personal sentiments regarding the value of Christian education, the role of the New South, educational and legal justice for blacks, the actions of Jefferson Davis and the South before and during the Civil War, the church's support of missions, and the influence of Protestant Christianity over government.

The study produced five conclusions. First, Galloway apparently took great care in researching and preparing his speeches. Often stating or clearly implying his theme and purpose, the orations suggest that the speaker followed a carefully thought-out plan. His personal scrapbook contains clippings of quotations, lines of verse, etc., which he possibly utilized in his public discourses, and his oratory occasionally contained ideas employed by other speakers such as the separate-but-equal theory of race relations previously advocated by Booker T. Washington in his "Atlanta Exposition Address." Not totally dominated by unrealistic idealism, Galloway's orations reveal a practical strategist who worked as best he could with what opportunities were available and utilized his knowledge of his region, his education, and his extensive travels as sources.

Second, Galloway took up the New South cause as a result of his experiences in the South before, during, and after the Civil War. Undoubtedly his years as a student at the University of Mississippi among such Confederate veterans as L. Q. C. Lamar made a lasting impression. As a young minister he took up such controversial causes as prohibition, and during his years as a bishop he was more outspoken on behalf of equal opportunities for blacks and other progressive ideas, defying powerful leaders such as James K. Vardaman. Unlike the politician who was forced to worry about the next election and the minister who could be relocated, Galloway's secure position within the church and his high level of ethos enabled him to speak out on political and social ideas. These circumstances combined to make him a logical person to assume the role of a New South spokesman in Mississippi.

Third, through his praise of the South's great past and heroic leaders, Galloway encouraged a feeling of self confidence within that region, thereby paving the way for the advocacy of the New South creed.

Fourth, in some ways Galloway was similar to other New South advocates who were too young to have served in the Civil War but reached maturity during Reconstruction. Specifically, Galloway held other traits in common with spokesmen such as Walter Hines Page of North Carolina and Richard Hathaway Edmonds of Virginia who wanted educational benefits

for blacks and Bishop Atticus Green Haygood of Georgia and Henry Watterson of Kentucky who sought an end to sectionalism. Though the South possessed a scattering of New South advocates, largely centered in the southeastern states, Galloway was apparently the major spokesman in Mississippi.

Fifth, in spite of the limited circumstances of his time and region, Galloway was immensely popular and managed to assert influence over social and political issues and to determine the course of events within his state. However, his primary significance seems as a forerunner of others who were to follow with more liberal ideas, his oratory marking the beginning of a long and arduous campaign for progress and civil liberties in Mississippi.

THE MOVEMENT FOR ASSIMILATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORIC OF CARL SCHURZ

Order No. 8005768

HARWOOD, GLENN REID, PH.D. *University of Oregon*, 1979. 260pp. Adviser: Charley Leistner

The purpose of this research has been to analyze the rhetoric of Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior from 1877 to 1881, as it applied to the advocacy of a federal policy of assimilation of American Indians. Schurz led an organized, institutionalized and collective effort to modify federal Indian policy within the Department of Interior. Schurz used persuasive strategies--strategies analogous to the descriptions of Ralph R. Smith and Russel R. Windes--to convince Congress to accept the innovation of general allotment. The allotment system or the severalty plan would change federal Indian policy from concentration and reservation to the innovation of assimilation. The policy of severalty called for allotment of Indian lands in fee simple to individual Indians who would be granted patents for specified sections of land.

Schurz's innovational movement for the adoption of general allotment focused its innovative persuasive strategies and rhetorical efforts on the members of the Congressional committees who held the legitimate power to change policy. He denied the existence of conflict between severalty and the existing values of American society. He developed an argument which emphasized the weaknesses of traditional institutions--specifically the military and the Department of the Interior--and the strengths of traditional values. Finally, he created a dialectic between the innovational movement's scene and its purpose: the assimilation of American Indians into the white mainstream.

Schurz's strategy was designed to win votes in Congressional committees. The strategy was not intended to alienate Congressmen and Senators from their constituencies by publicly stirring up emotional reactions to volatile sectional issues. For these reasons, Schurz chose not to deliver traditional public speeches on the issue of Indian affairs until he left office in 1881. While in office Schurz used intra-bureaucratic documents and testimony before Congressional committees to persuade Congress to adopt allotment.

Schurz's persuasive strategy illustrated the adaptability of classical canons to persuasion in innovational movements. An analysis of Schurz's bureaucratic documents illustrated that Schurz created a *prima facie* case for change in established Indian policy.

Many of the provisions of Schurz's plan were adopted by the House of Representatives on May 28, 1880. Although no final action dealing with the allotment of Indian lands was taken by the Forty-fifth or Forty-sixth Congresses, the innovational movement for Indian reform was effective. The Dawes Severalty Act which became law on February 8, 1887 contained many of the same provisions that were presented to the House by Schurz back on January 27, 1879.

THE VIETNAM ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT: HISTORY AND CRITICISM

Order No. 8005770

HENSLEY, WILLIAM EDWARD, PH.D. *University of Oregon*, 1979. 291pp. Adviser: Charley A. Leistner

This study focused on a number of rhetorical issues pertaining to the Vietnam anti-war movement. How effective was the movement in changing public opinion and possibly influencing military policy? What rhetorical approaches were available to leaders of the movement and which of these were selected for implementation? Did the overall approach change during the period? Were any particular approaches more effective than others? In general, the study concentrated on the period from March 1965 to May 1971.

The method of investigation used was historical-critical. The materials examined ranged from accounts of protest activities in newspapers, protest literature, and individual reports, to protest messages themselves (speeches, pamphlets, placards), and public opinion data. Several theories from the literature of protest and persuasion were also applied to the historical material to assess their usefulness in analyzing the anti-war movement.

The findings of the study indicate that two general modes of protest arose. One, a more moderate form called "argumentative protest," sought to maintain a dialog over the war issue by establishing an element of common ground with the opposing side. This was done by advocating a moderate withdrawal policy, keeping the style of the protest respectful, seeking support from establishment "legitimizers," and limiting the protest message to the war issue. A second, more radical form called "counter-statement protest," sought to establish a separate conflicting view on war which was not constrained by acceptability factors. In general, this latter form demonstrated the significance of the counter-statement through the number of followers attracted and through punishment power. Methods used to achieve this included advocating an unmodified withdrawal policy, attempting to embrace all protest philosophies, staging newsworthy activities, and on occasion disrupting elements of public life and government.

The data indicated that anti-war protest became more radical as the movement and war involvement grew. Although protests organized under a counter-statement philosophy were successful at producing massive turnouts, there was a pronounced reaction against such style by a majority of the public. Argumentative protest was successful at engaging a number of establishment figures in their activities, which by 1969 became substantial.

Overall, this research suggested that the Vietnam protest was not overly effective at changing public opinion or military policy. Although public attitudes toward the war changed over the course of several years, much of the newly held attitudes were separated from adherence to anti-war movement viewpoints.

ARNOLD R. PINKNEY AND THE 1971 CLEVELAND MAYORAL CAMPAIGN: THE CASE FOR THE STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSES

Order No. 8005673

HUNTER, DEBORAH FRANCES ATWATER, PH.D. *State University of New York at Buffalo*, 1979. 232pp.

The study was designed to critically examine the use of flexible responses by the black Independent, Arnold R. Pinkney in the 1971 Cleveland mayoral campaign. The 1971 Cleveland mayoral campaign began after the primaries on September 28, 1971. The general issues in the campaign related to jobs, housing, finances of the city, health services, recreational facilities, transportation, neighborhood and downtown redevelopment, public safety, and improvements within the police department. The situationally controlled issues centered on Carl B. Stokes, his administration, and his actions during the campaign. The winners of the Democratic and Republican nominations were James Carney and Ralph Perk respectively. Mayor Stokes and the black community were responsible for Carney's upset victory over party-supported Anthony Garofoli. Stokes had a personal and political grievance against Garofoli and used the black vote to defeat him in the primary. Shortly after the primaries, Stokes changed his endorsement from Carney to Pinkney. This particular action caused considerable confusion in the playing arena. Segments of the Cleveland population were already weary of Stokes' personality confrontations, party squabbles, power struggles, and political maneuvering. In order to assess Pinkney's communication failure, the study explored the context of the political players and playing arena, the nature of flexible responses, and Pinkney's political discourse strategies and speaking style.

Six flexible responses were identified in political campaigns. The Hunter Paradigm of the manifest categories of flexible responses were: (1) *direct response*; (2) *indirect response*; (3) *others response*; (a) *directive* and (b) *non-directive*; (4) *action response*; (a) *positive* or (b) *negative*; (5) *pre-emptive response*, and (6) *no response*. *Direct response* was identified as an open vocal or written reaction to a charge laid against a political player by the opposition. *Indirect response* was identified as an illusion that something said by the opposition is contrary to the political player's position. *Others response* was isolated as the response by the political player's campaign organization and the response may be *directive*, controlled by the political player or *non-directive* controlled by the organization. *Action response* was defined as a physically demonstrative reaction to the opposition's charges by the political player. The action may be *positive* or *negative* depending upon the nature of the charges by the opposition. *Pre-emptive* response was explained as a verbal attack against the opposition based on the assumption that the opposition is planning to attack. *No response* was defined as making no observable response to an opposition charge. These responses may be applied in other than accusatory situations and do not have to be accusations made by an opponent.

Pinkney's primary response was *no response*. Pinkney chose this strategy partly because of his special relationship with Carl Stokes and partly because of his personality. By not responding to Perk's attacks on his persona during the campaign, Pinkney became *inflexible* and his persona was damaged.

Future studies of a comparative nature may be made of political players in campaigns by utilizing the Hunter Paradigm of the strategy of flexible responses. A political player may be able to fortify his persona during a campaign by using a combination of the strategy of flexible responses.

INSTITUTIONAL RHETORIC AND RADICAL CHANGE: THE CASE OF THE CONTEMPORARY ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA, 1947-1977 Order No. 8005898

JABLONSKI, CAROL JEAN, PH.D. *Purdue University*, 1979. 192pp. Major Professor: Roderick P. Hart, Jr.

Although studies in sociology and rhetoric have documented the rhetorical responses made by institutional leaders to agitating and competing groups, little has been done to determine how the rhetoric addressed to institutional publics reflects the currents of social and institutional change. Such rhetoric might be affected by changes in an institution's philosophical world-view and hierarchical structure. As Kathleen Jamieson, Michael McGee, and Edwin Black have argued, the ways in which a public is addressed and defined rhetorically can reveal the rhetor's vision of the people's needs, their common rhetorical situation, and the rhetor's view of their shared social reality. Moreover, as Kenneth Burke and Hugh Duncan have shown, rhetoric reflects the power relationship shared by leaders and members of institutions and should thus reveal alterations therein.

This study explores the effects radical social and institutional change has on the on-going public communication addressed by institutional leaders to their constituency. Specifically, it (1) explicates the functional relationship existing between institutional evolution and public discourse; (2) develops a theoretical and methodological framework for investigating the rhetorical correlates of change; and (3) applies this framework to an institution which appears to have experienced radical change, i.e., the contemporary Roman Catholic Church in America.

To see how the rhetoric of the Church's leaders was affected by the philosophical and hierarchical changes brought about in the Church as a result of the Second Vatican Council, this study examines 115 pastoral letters issued by the Roman Catholic bishops in America between 1947 and 1977. As a form of on-going communication between the bishops and their diocesan following, the letters provided a basis for inferring the rhetorical patterns of institutional continuity and change.

For the most part, the bishops consistently employed rhetorical patterns of institutional continuity throughout the thirty years examined. They were authoritarian, absolutistic, defensive, and esoteric in their pronouncements; they expected hearers to supply doctrinal warrants for their claims and appealed to doctrinal bases of listeners' support. The ceremonial context in which the letters were typically read, coupled with the highly rigidified role of the bishop, militated against any dramatic revisions in the rhetorical form of the pastoral letter.

Nonetheless, the bishops' letters did reflect some rhetorical manifestations of institutional change. During the late sixties and early seventies, they qualified their arguments more often and frequently used testimony to bolster their claims. They adopted a positive and preferential approach to their argumentation, and became more concerned about shaping listeners' interpretations of "good" and "evil." While many of the modifications in the bishops' messages were unique to the late 1960's and early 1970's, there is some evidence to suggest that some of the later letters have not reverted entirely to the rhetorical patterns typical of the 1940's and 1950's.

This study suggests that institutional discourse may be less responsive to the pressures of change than it is to the formal expectations for hierarchical rhetoric. In times of change, it may be that the conservative impulse undergirding institutional rhetoric serves a stabilizing function. Future studies will be necessary to complete the rhetorical history of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church and to determine whether rhetorical patterns of the sort noted here are manifest in other institutions experiencing radical change.

A SYNTHESIS OF METHODOLOGIES USED IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION APPLIED TO THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN Order No. 8010151

KAY, JACK, PH.D. *Wayne State University*, 1979. 394pp.

The purpose of this study is four-fold: (1) to describe the dominant methods and theories used in the study of political communication; (2) to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of current theories and methodologies; (3) to synthesize currently competing methodologies into a comprehensive approach or model for studying political communication; and (4) to apply the newly proposed model to several aspects of the 1976 presidential election campaign.

Four methods of political communication analysis are identified as dominant in academic research: demographics, survey research, agenda-setting, and dramatism. Each method is reviewed and evaluated in terms of usefulness and adequacy in describing, interpreting, and evaluating political campaigns. The conclusion reached is that each method provides valuable, although limited, insight to the nature of political campaigns.

In order to pull together material on campaigns and to better understand election campaigns, a synthesis model is proposed. Brock's dramatistic film strip model, as supplemented with the methods of demographics, survey research, agenda-setting, and dramatism, is offered as a metamethod for studying campaigns. The film strip model identifies three stages to political campaign analysis: single frame analysis, time sequence analysis, and dramatistic interaction analysis.

The dramatistic film strip model is applied to three aspects of the 1976 presidential election campaign: (1) the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination campaign; (2) the 1976 Republican presidential nomination campaign; and (3) the 1976 presidential general election campaign. Based upon these applications, as well as upon a critical analysis of the model, it is concluded that the dramatistic film strip model constitutes a most valuable contribution to political communication research. The metamethod offers a more complete system for studying election campaigns than is presently available. The model provides a specific scheme which guides researchers in their effort to discover important events in election campaigns. The model also offers a mechanism for synthesizing critical and quantitative approaches, thus enabling rhetorical critics to go beyond speculative judgments. Specific limitations of the model include its time consuming nature and its failure to identify how approaches should be used.

AUDIENCE EFFECTS OF APOLOGIA: A SOCIAL SCIENCE ANALYSIS OF FOUR SUBGENRES OF APOLOGETIC DISCOURSE Order No. 8002758

MCCLEAREY, KEVIN EAMON, PH.D. *University of Kansas*, 1979. 119pp.

(1) *Statement of the Problem.* While critics of rhetorical communication have identified subgenres of apologetic discourse through isolating recurrent language strategies of rhetors, little is known about the pragmatic effects of discourses in these subgenres and how those effects might alter arguments about generic form. This study, therefore, sought to assess the effects of four speeches (each one enacting a different subgenre of apologia) on an audience's perceptions of the moral character, competence, and culpability of a rhetor whose moral character had been attacked.

(2) *Procedure.* One hundred eighty subjects read a counterfeit set of charges against a rhetor's moral character and then (depending upon group assignment) either read a full or partial apologia replying to the charges or served as control group members. They then responded to four dependent measures assessing their perceptions of the culpability, credibility (character and competence), and rhetorical stance of the apologist. Eight null hypotheses were tested by using factor analysis, analyses of variance, and chi-square contingency tables.

(3) *Results.* It was found that (a) each of the apologias heightened significantly perceptions of moral character and reversed effectively perceptions of culpability, (b) audience members responded to strategies inherent in the discourse, not to the rhetorical stance of the apologist (which previously has defined subgenres of apologia), and (c) audience members could identify accurately, nevertheless, the rhetorical stance of the apologist.

(4) *Conclusions.* It was argued that previous ways of defining the relationship among rhetorical strategies, rhetorical stances, and audience effects have been ambiguous and inadequate. It was further argued that, if evidence from social science research is to be brought to bear meaningfully upon investigations of rhetorical genres, then there must be a close and direct correspondence between the dependent measures used in research and the criterial effects sought by a rhetor enacting a particular form of discourse.

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATIVE SPEECHES OF SELECTED WOMEN SPEAKERS IN AMERICA: 1850-1860

Order No. 8003445

MEAD, JUDITH LEE, PH.D. *University of Denver*, 1979. 319pp.

The research problem was two-fold: historically, representative speeches of selected women speakers taken from the period 1850-1860 in America were studied to discover and indicate their influence on one of the great movements of the day which was women's rights. Rhetorically, the study was designed to evaluate the relative effectiveness revealed by those speeches to discover if the speeches given by the selected women would constitute rhetoric of a revolutionary social movement and therefore be representative of revolutionary social movement rhetoric in general. The method of research used in this study was the historical-critical method as defined by J. Jeffry Auer following six specific steps: (1) Problem; (2) Working hypothesis; (3) Research design; (4) Collection of evidence; (5) Analysis of data; and (6) Generalization.

The study was divided into four chapters. Chapter One provided an introduction of the subject and outlined the purposes and procedures of the work. Chapter Two defined and described revolutionary social movements as differentiated from rebellions and revolts. It also set forth the ideologies which are present in the rhetoric of revolutionary social movements, and showed why revolutionary rhetoric is different from the rhetoric of rebellion and revolt. Chapter Three looked at each woman speaker and each speech individually, beginning with a brief biographical sketch of the speaker, and proceeded to a rhetorical analysis of the speech, using the rhetorical method suggested by Thonssen and Baird which gives consideration to the matters of invention, logical proof, emotional proof, ethical proof, structure, style, delivery and the effectiveness of the speech and speaker. The second section of Chapter Three was concerned with a rhetorical analysis of the representative speeches of the selected women speakers as they represent the rhetoric of a particular social movement, using the rhetorical methodology for analyzing social movements offered by Hahn and Gonchar. Chapter Four presented a summary of the study and the conclusions which were drawn from the analysis of the data. It also indicated areas of research that might be undertaken by the student of rhetorical and public address in the future.

The major findings of the study had to do with the relation of the rhetoric of the women's rights speakers to the nature and characteristics of a revolutionary social movement. The first finding revealed that the rhetoric of the women's rights speakers showed a sense of hope rather than despair which is characteristic of a revolution rather than a rebellion or a revolt. The second finding indicated that the women speakers identified their oppressor as society. The oppressor was seen as an abstract concept and in generalized terms rather than as someone who was real and tangible. This view of an oppressor is characteristic of a revolutionary social movement rather than a rebellion or a revolt. The third finding revealed that the women speakers offered definite and concrete plans and programs for the future which is characteristic of revolutions as contrasted to rebellions and revolts that are concerned only with the immediate present and are spontaneous and compulsive with no thought for the future. The fourth finding showed that revolutionary conflict has its roots in the shared attitudes and beliefs and in shared activities and that the women speakers did share attitudes, beliefs, and activities and developed an ideology with which American women could identify.

The conclusions were two. First, the speeches could be considered influential forces in molding public sentiment in favor of women's rights issues and the ideology which those issues represent. Second, the speeches were revolutionary in nature and therefore were representative of the rhetoric of a special revolutionary social movement and revolutionary social movements in general.

RHETORICAL PROCESSES AND PATTERNS IN THE NIXON ADDRESSES ON VIETNAM AND RELATED NEWS COVERAGE

Order No. 8004870

MURPHY, WILLIAM FRANCIS, PH.D. *University of Pittsburgh*, 1979. 265pp.

This dissertation is an exploratory, descriptive study of how political rhetoric effects the legitimation or delegitimation of the policies and actions of a particular authority figure, former President Richard M. Nixon. A rhetorical analysis is made of both the Nixon addresses to the nation on Vietnam during 1969 and 1970 and the news coverage of those addresses, in order to determine how the relevant actors (referring to persons, institutions, nations, or socio-economic groupings) are characterized in dramatic terms. These characterizations are then interrelated as patterns for the mobilization of support for Presidential policy, the quieting of opposition to that policy, and the skeptical interpretation of Presidential acts as motivated by partisan interests. In the conclusion, the patterns and actor characterizations are discussed with reference to their impact on conceptions of legitimate authority and opposition in contemporary American political culture.

In addition to the authority figure of President Nixon, a list of generic types of actors is presented. It includes the following: the nation and the people as a whole, past Presidents, experts, American soldiers, foreign enemies, foreign allies, supporters of the President, and domestic opponents. Then the following classificatory scheme is used to determine how the actors and/or their relationship to Nixon's policies are presented: (1) Motivational constitution attribution: reference to purposes and goals set down by past leaders as the source of motives for a Nixon policy; (2) Personal or partisan attribution: reference to personal or partisan interests or to Nixon's psychological characteristics as the source of motives for a policy; (3) Personification and identity validation: reference to the characteristics of a national identity which must be validated: (4) Alien vs. empathic: the definition of foreign or domestic opponents as either fundamentally malevolent or as potentially sharing common goals with us; (5) Authoritarian vs. communicative: presenting policy alternatives toward enemies in terms of strength and weakness or conciliation and understanding; (6) Mobilization vs. quiescence: exhorting the audience to act in support of the leader against opponents as contrasted to appeals for common understanding with domestic opponents.

Using the above categories, the seven Addresses to the Nation on Vietnam are analyzed to determine the characterizations of the relevant actors. A common pattern is elicited for the November 3, 1969, and April 30, 1970, addresses, as follows: (1) A motivational constitution of recent Presidents and a personified view of the nation and people as having the will and courage to stand up to the enemy; (2) The need to validate this national identity through authoritarian policies against alien enemies and domestic opponents; (3) Personification of constituent supporters as the "silent majority" being exhorted to mobilize and defend the national identity.

Another common pattern of characterization is drawn from the May 15, 1969, and October 7, 1970, speeches announcing peace proposals: (1) A peace-loving nation whose leaders have always searched for peace; (2) An empathic view of the enemy as likely to respond to a policy of negotiation (communicative); (3) General exhortations of passive support (quiescence) from both supporters and opponents.

In contrast, the skeptical interpretation of the media ignores the motivational constitution of past leaders and the national identity. Instead: (1) Political partisan motives of the leader and his supporters are attributed to their acts; (2) Little coverage is given to the foreign enemy; and (3) Domestic opponents appear very empathic.

The conclusion discusses conceptions of Presidential authority and opposition to that authority. In particular, the fate of the "silent majority" vs. "anti-war minority" identities is explored with reference to the Nixon-Agnew rhetoric. Finally, the increasing acceptance of skeptical interpretations of Presidential motives in the aftermath of Watergate and its negative impact of belief in the legitimacy of Presidential authority are suggested.

SENATOR WAYNE L. MORSE AND THE QUAGMIRE OF VIETNAM, 1964-1968

Order No. 8005787

NEAL, WILLIAM PATRICK, PH.D. *University of Oregon*, 1979. 274pp. Adviser: Charley A. Leistner

In 1964 President Lyndon Johnson began a series of steps which widened and deepened the American unilateral military commitment to South Vietnam. Wayne Lyman Morse, senior Senator from Oregon, emerged as a leading spokesperson for the antiwar movement opposed to the expanded commitment.

In the period 1964-1968 Wayne Morse presented several hundred speeches in the United States Senate and around the country on the evils of the United States involvement. He received and answered hundreds of thousands of telegrams and letters. He appeared on local and national radio and television programs, and he published a newsletter which frequently contained his ideas on Vietnam. The antiwar discourse of Senator Morse provided by the speeches, letters and telegrams, and mass media appearances provided the material for the present study.

Specifically, four questions were examined in the study. First, what were the bases of the Morse rhetorical position vis-a-vis the Vietnam war? Second, how did the rhetorical position evolve? Third, what was the effectiveness of Morse as an antiwar speaker in the Senate? Finally, what was the effectiveness of Morse as an antiwar speaker with the general American public?

The methodology used was a descriptive approach using a combination of historical and critical methodologies. A short biography of Morse was developed as well as a brief history of the war in Vietnam. The interaction of Morse and the war was examined using a diachronic time pattern (sequential development). The Morse antiwar campaign was examined to discover the issues, strategies, tactics, networks, and media the Senator employed.

The study suggested that the Morse rhetorical posture was a broad-based approach built on the idea that citizen involvement and citizen education were the keys to changing the American policy. The Senator's discourse was, for the most part, reasoned and highly informative. He disapproved of and spoke against the use of civil disobedience and any illegal methods of dissent.

The review of the Morse campaign suggested that the rhetorical position evolved through three phases of development. The first phase, from 1964 through early 1966, was a time of dynamic growth highlighted by discovery and refinement of issues, development and solidification of strategies and tactics, and an increasing exploration and exploitation of media and networks. The period mid-1966 through 1967 marked a plateau in the Senator's discourse. Finally, in 1968 Morse entered a withdrawal phase from the antiwar movement. Following his election defeat in November 1968 he withdrew completely from the antiwar movement.

The study concluded that Morse was effective in keeping the Vietnam issue alive before the Senate. Through the five years of his dissent he saw ten to fifteen of his Senate colleagues shift to an antiwar position. Morse was the most prolific antiwar Senator in terms of number of speeches presented and number of issues raised. He perhaps enjoyed his greatest effectiveness as a source of information and education for the people. His antiwar campaign was a monumental effort by one man to disseminate a large volume of information to a large number of people. Part of the credit for the changing American attitude toward the United States participation in the Vietnam war must be given to Wayne L. Morse.

STUDIES IN THE RHETORIC OF THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, 1865-1913

Order No. 8001618

ORAVEC, CHRISTINE, PH.D. *The University of Wisconsin - Madison*, 1979. 377pp. Supervisor: Professor Edwin Black

From 1865 to 1913, many middle-class, predominately urban Americans experienced an evolution in attitudes and actions toward their natural environment from passive acceptance and exploitation to appreciation and active social concern. This study examines the discursive language associated with four significant events signalling such a change: the growth in popularity of the literature of natural history, the creation of Yosemite National Park, the origin of the utilitarian conservation movement, and the battle over the building of a dam in Hetch Hetchy valley. Each of these events represents a significant development in the movement for conservation and its accompanying discourse.

Analysis of the essays comprising the literature of natural history from 1865 to 1890 suggests that writers employed two common themes; the aesthetic theory of the sublime response, and the scientific theory of neo-Lamarckian evolution. Both of these themes reinforced the traditional American belief in the formative psychological and physical effects of nature upon human character. The study shows that the wide dissemination of this literature in monthly and weekly magazines and the acceptability of its themes laid a foundation for the later popularity of the conservation movement.

The campaign for the creation of Yosemite National Park in 1890 represented the beginning of John Muir's career as an advocate of preserving wilderness in its natural state. Investigation of John Muir's essays of natural history suggests that Muir effectively associated the sublime aesthetic experience with the activity of supporting the creation of a national park. Though Muir directed his appeal primarily to elicit individual responses, soon after the Yosemite campaign a group of scientists, academics, and some businessmen founded the Sierra Club, an event which marked the beginning of organized preservationism.

A discussion of utilitarian or progressive conservation shows that this movement acquired an extensive popular following from 1907 to 1910. The discourse of progressive conservationists succeeded in identifying the technical and bureaucratic term "conservation" with development, prevention of waste, and the moral welfare of a "people" who derived their strength from the resources of nature. The study explores how Gifford Pinchot succeeded in popularizing these ideals through government publications, speeches, and ceremonial meetings appealing to vocational and economic groups throughout the nation.

The final event discussed in this study, the Hetch Hetchy controversy of 1901-1914, represented the clash of the two fundamentally different policies toward nature and society espoused by the preservationists and the conservationists. Examples of their public discourse show that conservationists claimed to represent "the public interest" in supporting a dam in the Hetch Hetchy valley of Yosemite National Park, while preservationists developed a concept of "national" interest in the preservation of Hetch Hetchy. Moreover, the preservationists developed a utilitarian argument based upon a future constituency of middle- and working-class tourists. However, the study determines that the primarily Progressive political audience for these public arguments ultimately supported widely popular conservationist position based upon social, rather than individual needs and values.

This study of the discourse of the conservation movement concludes that language effectively shaped public attitudes and actions toward nature by integrating commonly-held aesthetic and scientific principles, transforming passive appreciation of nature to active involvement, and setting the conditions for a wide public involvement with nature in the form of a social movement. In so doing, the discourse of conservation has directly affected the way we experience and act upon our natural world.

RHETORICAL VISION--BLACK SOCIAL REALITY

Order No. 8004262

RIBEAU, SIDNEY ALLEN, PH.D. *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*, 1979. 255pp.

The relationship between Black protest rhetoric and Black social reality is the topic of this thesis. The study focuses on the competing Black rhetorical perspectives employed from 1954 to 1968 by moderate and militant factions of the Black protest movement. Particular emphasis is given to the rhetoric of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, who represent the predominant rhetorical stances of this period. Selected messages of Dr. King, the moderate, and Malcolm X, the militant, are critically assessed as separate phases of the same movement with emphasis placed on the rhetorical vision expressed in the messages.

Previous investigations have failed to consider militant and moderate discourse as phases of a continuing movement, or to consider the philosophical perspective of protest rhetors as a controlling factor in message development. Employing a critical method which emphasizes the socially constructed reality of key rhetorical figures, this study examines the movement from the perspective of those who guided it, thus explicating the functions of rhetoric in a dynamic, evolving social protest movement.

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS ON THE FIRST AMENDMENT: RHETORICAL GENRES IN JUDICIAL OPINIONS

Order No. 8012292

RODGERS, RAYMOND SINCLAIR, PH.D. *The University of Oklahoma*, 1979. 271pp. Major Professor: Paul A. Barefield

This study examined two hundred and seven of William O. Douglas' Supreme Court opinions on first amendment issues in an attempt to determine: (1) whether judicial opinions could be generically classified according to their jurisprudential/rhetorical bases; (2) what generic clusters typified Douglas' first amendment opinions; and (3) if such generic clusters varied between majority and non-majority opinions.

The broad theoretic categories of natural law, legal positivism, and legal realism were adopted as the categories of a content analytic system for classifying substantive arguments within particular opinions. Each of these jurisprudential orientations was synthesized into a hypothetical argument form referred to respectively as Argument from Ideal, Argument from Rule, and Argument from Context and the opinions were assigned to categories on the basis of operational definitions of each and according to pre-determined guidelines for coding.

The analysis of opinions revealed that there exists (as reflected in Douglas' first amendment opinions) a characteristic nexus between jurisprudential warrant and rhetorical content. This dependence of rhetorical substance upon legal philosophical warrant, combined with a conflux of institutional constraints inherent in the U.S. Supreme Court, led to a qualified affirmative claim that rhetorical genres exist in judicial opinions. Second, the analysis of opinions revealed that Douglas' generic tendencies ran toward legal positivism rather than the legal realist philosophy with which he has most often been identified. Natural law rhetoric accounted for 8.7% of his first amendment opinions, legal positivist rhetoric for 56.5% and legal realism for 34.8%. The domination of the "Argument from Rule" persisted in all opinion types, leading to the third conclusion that no statistically significant generic differences were found between majority and non-majority rhetoric.

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF GEORGE STANLEY MCGOVERN

Order No. 8000047

ROSENTHAL, Robert Edward, Ph.D. Bowling Green State University, 1979. 281pp.

This rhetorical analysis examined the 1972 Presidential campaign of George Stanley McGovern. Several variations of dramatistic methodology were utilized to criticize McGovern's campaign image. The analysis demonstrated that McGovern had become trapped by his non-political" campaign image and by his moralistic rhetoric. This resulted in a "paradox of purity," a rhetorical problem which was the result of the candidate's failure to comprehend and to use the inherent ambiguity of language.

This study also classified the rhetoric of both McGovern and Nixon during the campaign according to the Weaverian liberal/conservative paradigm. It was found that Nixon, the "Priest" of the present, generally argued from circumstance, the argumentative form Weaver believed to typify the political liberal. McGovern, the admonishing "Prophet," was seen to be idealistic, basing his rhetorical appeals in the fundamental righteousness of the American people. Weaver argued that such arguments from genus are typical of the political conservative.

McGovern's greatest failure in his campaign rhetoric was his inability to grasp the idea that language ambiguity is the very essence of the democratic process.

A CASE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL APOLOGIA: THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, 1945-1956

Order No. 7928611

RYBACKI, Karyn Charles, Ph.D. The University of Iowa, 1979. 222pp. Supervisor: Professor Bruce E. Gronbeck

This case study focused on the apologia of the American Federation of Labor in its institutional self-defense between 1945 and 1956. The AFL was accused of being uncooperative and obstructionist in the efforts to put American economy on a sound footing following World War II and of being a domestic source of communism. In responding to these charges, the spokespersons of the AFL--Matthew Woll, William Green, Dave Beck, and George Meany--used an apologetic mode of speaking similar to that which an individual might use if confronted with such charges.

The phenomenon of the individual apologia has been examined in previous studies of public speaking. However, efforts to examine the case of an organization or institution publicly charged with misconduct or malfeasance have not been undertaken in previous studies of apologia. This case study combined the methods for studying the apologia of individuals with methods for examining the rhetorical behaviors of collectivities. Such a method was devised by combining the Ware and Linkugel (1973) factors of apologia (denial, bolstering, differentiation, and transcendence) with the Cox (1974) characterizations of collective behavior--belief in rhetorical efficacy, movement goals, change agents and their related constituencies (audiences), source credibility, and message construction.

The historical self image of the AFL was found to be that of an organization devoted to American democratic capitalism and to the protection and advancement of the skilled worker. Further, the AFL saw itself as traditionally and philosophically anti-communist. The public image of the AFL was that of an organization imbedded in the American labor movement. Publicly, all labor organizations were seen as devoted to disrupting the economy through demands for higher wages, strikes, and organizing activities among non-union workers. Also, the public could point to "known" communists in the labor movement; therefore, all unionists were perceived as communists. By the year 1945, the self image and public image of the AFL reached a point of maximum differentiation. The AFL saw itself as dedicated to American principles. The public saw all labor unions as a threat to economic stability and national security. To correct this mismatching of self and public image, AFL leaders spoke out on behalf of their organization.

Three periods of AFL apologia were identified in this rhetorical self-defense. Between 1945 and 1950, AFL speakers attempted to respond directly to the charges by denying them. With the advent of McCarthyism, the focus of AFL argumentation changed as speakers attempted to redefine the organization's image between 1951 and 1955. Finally, as the AFL prepared to merge with the CIO, AFL speaker Meany strove to reaffirm the value of all organized labor to the nation in 1955 and 1956.

This study suggests that, in a rhetorical situation where an organization has been accused of being a threat to the society of which it is a part, it will engage in apologetic speaking to resolve belief dilemmas similar to that which an individual would undertake. The AFL conducted an apologetic campaign and met with partial success; key opinion leaders in society, industry, and government accepted the AFL's reestablishment of its image as a worthwhile member of society.

A STUDY OF HU SHIH'S RHETORICAL DISCOURSES ON THE CHINESE LITERARY REVOLUTION: 1915-20 Order No. 8008426

WEI, SHULUN, PH.D. *Bowling Green State University*, 1979. 275pp.

In the Literary Revolution, which marked a very important milestone in modern Chinese history, Hu Shih, an outstanding scholar, succeeded in substituting the vernacular for the long-established and highly refined classical style of writing. The old ways had become an inefficient medium for modern communication. This study analyzed the ideational process in which Hu directed his rhetorical discourses toward the audience and the revolutionary operation by which he adjusted the audience to his ideas.

The study concluded that the nature of Hu Shih's discourses was "instrumental" in Dewey's meaning of the word. His achievement was in the changing of the linguistic tool. He did not create a literary tool. His rationale was built on a historical evolutionary theory which maintained that language and literature are a function of the time in which they are used. The ascertainable sources of his ideas are traced to Confucianism, Ibsenism as well as the thoughts of Darwin, Huxley, and Dewey. Particularly relevant to the Literary Revolution were Hu's speech background and his use of gradualism. It was further found that the significance of Hu's discourses was not confined to language and literature. The linguistic cognitive dissonance, that Hu had aroused in the audience, was psycho-socio-cultural and would affect the future transformation of the whole Chinese linguistic symbolic system.